1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

524 My master bought me, undressed me, cut off my head, and then as he was chopping me he felt sorry and started crying. (An onion.)

Food and Clothing

252 Since fuel is so scarce throughout most of the country, fire is used for cooking only when absolutely necessary. Many families still do their cooking in the open fireplace, but many more use small sheet-metal stoves. The husband, when he has caught up on his other jobs, brings the fuel to the house by donkey from the village forest or from some mountainside where the holm-oak shrubs grow, but the wife may also help in this task from time to time.

If she can, the wife persuades her husband to build a brick and mud stove, which raises the cooking surface high enough to avoid stooping. In fact, a good indication of progress in a Greek village home is the height of the stove. Only a few kettles or pans exist where the fireplace is used for cooking, but metal casseroles are required for modern stoves with ovens. Even in those homes where cooking arrangements border on the primitive, a meal is served on clean, white tablecloths, with napkins and whatever dishes and cutlery the family can afford.

The food varies considerably by geographical region and by season. But everywhere one finds, in the words of Dorothy Lee, that "traditionally, food is not nutrition. Food is good, not good for you." [6] Therefore, when we describe the Greek diet as consisting of 2477 calories per day as compared with the United States figure of 3129, we are talking nutrition, not food. Or when we break these calories down according to their sources, as in Table 3, we are following a Western, not a Greek villager's, approach. No-

TABLE 3. SOURCES OF CALORIC INTAKE, GREECE AND UNITED STATES, 1948–49

Food group	Percentage of calories	
	Greece	United States
Cereals	61	25
Potatoes	2	3
Sugar and honey	4	15
Pulses and nuts	6	3
Vegetables and fruits	5	6
Meat, fish, and eggs	3	19
Dairy products	4	14
Oils and fats	15	15
	100	100

Source: Adapted from Leland G. Allbaugh, *Crete: A Case Study of an Underdeveloped Area* (Princeton, 1953), p. 132.

1:Sanders Z-5,Y (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[356] Easter the wife whitewashes the house, the wall around the yard, and the oven, even pressing her husband into service should this be necessary. She [249] strings tobacco leaves in late summer; she also strings peppers and onions [251] to hang under the eastern eaves or on the door post. After the shearing is [236] done in the spring, she is anxious to get the wool washed and hung up to [251] dry in festoons around the yard; she dries beans on a blanket out in the yard or, if she lives in Southern Greece or the islands, uses the cement cover of the cistern for the beans as well as for drying figs and almonds.

231 The so-called home or house animals — one or two sheep or goats, which 462 are often petted, and the donkey — are under her supervision much of the time, although the man on his way to the fields may take the smaller ani- [235] mals with him and stake them out to graze. The women also have full responsibility for poultry except around Attica, where commercialized poultry raising also absorbs the attention of the men. Caring for the swine and a family cow, should there be one, is a woman's job. But the men will as- [233] sume responsibility for a herd of cows, a flock of sheep, the oxen, or any [343] horses. When new homes are built, special stables for these animals are provided in the yard. The women are busy, as would be rural women anywhere, when a pig is slaughtered. As a matter of fact, every member of the [461] family usually participates in some stage of the proceedings, looking upon it as a gala occasion, more fun than work.

462 Although gardening is looked upon as woman's work, the man usually [241] prepares the soil and leaves the planting and cultivation up to the woman. [231] Nor is he apt to help when his daughter goes out with a neighbor woman to gather acorns for the pigs, even though it means that one of the women has to spend most of the afternoon up in the trees shaking down the acorns to the woman below.

462 Woman's participation in field work is gradually changing throughout 241 much of Greece. In Polygyros, the chief city in the Chalkidike Peninsula, 178 the men proudly point out — as they do in Crete — that women do not work ● [313] in the fields. More and more the men are taking over the field work and the cutting of wood, in which they formerly expected the women to help. One still will see many women out in the fields chopping cotton or planting rice, with a man — apparently directing them — sitting down in the shade. As [589] the Bishop of Messenia pointed out, many of the women working in the field are widows, or their husbands are away at work, at the market, or perhaps sick. He thought that the Greek women working their own land were [464] better off than American women employed in factories, although the Bishop [745] did not know that one third of the Greek labor force insured under sickness and pension plans (which means paid employees covered by government regulation) was made up of women.[12] At harvest time, too, the women wield their sickles day in and day out in areas where the mechanical harvesters

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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178 a crop of only about 30 okes of wheat per stremma (a little more
433 than 4 bushels per acre), and are capable of doing that only for
241 two or three years, after which time the field has to be aban-
423 doned for a while until its dubious fertility has been restored. The president of the village told me that he allows the villagers to clear land wherever they can find anything that seems worth clearing, even though this goes beyond the letter of the law and encroaches on what is properly common pasture.

178 The desperate effort to find more cultivable land throughout
313 the interwar, wartime and postwar years reflects the growing
314 exhaustion of the forests, upon which the majority of the village
433 population have come to depend. The villagers have cut off the trees farther and farther up the mountain, until only a little scrub oak remains; and even this is so thin that a man has to work hard and long to collect enough wood to make a charcoal
[438] burning. Since World War II, indeed, it has become more usual to sell the wood in its raw form, even though this multiplies transport problems, and means far less money per donkey-load delivered to Volos.

178 Within the village itself bitter feelings began to rise during
241 the interwar period. The three families that had turned to agri-
423 culture in 1905, thus securing possession of the only decent
565 agricultural land in the whole village, were able to keep their
578 farms together. In 1956, one of the three families had removed
427 entirely to Volos, and was renting out its land on a sharecropping basis to poorer families in the village. The other two "rich" families (who by any standard other than that of Cherasia were still poor) were each represented in the village by a single household, presumably because other descendants of the original owners had left for town. The result was a striking economic contrast between the poor woodcutters, whose painfully cleared hillside patches were scarcely worth the labor of cultivation, and the "rich" families. Indeed, the members of the two village

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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various government plans would fail. Indeed, I suspect that the vines which the agricultural extension agent planted so hopefully may have died, not because his plans were faulty, but because the villagers failed to look after them.

Aside from the fact that Communist sympathies were deeply implanted in the village even before the war and were strengthened during and after it by the guerrilla movement, one can point to two facts that help to explain the village attitude. First, the persons who stand to benefit principally from agricultural improvements are naturally those who possess good land – the three families that acquired the bottom land in 1905. For the others, on their miserable hillside patches, there is little the agricultural extension agent can do.

Second, and much more important, is the fact that in 1954 the government cracked down on woodcutting. Roughly half of the mountain slopes, which had been "theirs" for as long as the men of the village could remember, were set aside as a forest preserve where woodcutting was forbidden. The villagers did not stop cutting wood, but they now do it by stealth, mostly at night, and go out in parties, with watchmen posted in appropriate places to warn them when one of the forest guards comes by. Such activity smacks more than a little of warfare against constituted authority; and in proportion as the men of the village make their living in this illegal fashion, they maintain an open hostility against the government. In doing so they remain faithful to the old "freedom" of the village, characteristic of their shepherd forebears and of their guerrilla relatives and contemporaries.

Small wonder, therefore, that the villagers regard the government as hypocritical and inimical – pretending to give them something with one hand (but really giving mainly to the "rich" families) while with the other depriving them of their very livelihood. No theoretical arguments, to the effect that Greece

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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badly needs reforestation, and that in the long run everyone, including the people of Cherasia, will benefit from re-establishment of real forests on Mount Pelion, carry any weight among the woodcutters who feel that their rights have been ruthlessly disregarded, and their traditional way of life endangered. They do not care to be farmers, and for all their ragged poverty, despise such slavish souls as are content to labor long and hard on the land.

A deep and painful irony lies in the fact that without the bureaucratic paternalism of the government most of the people of Cherasia would, in all probability, have died during the guerrilla war. What happened in Kotta, where the arm of the government did not reach, might well have happened also in Cherasia, if the inhabitants of the village had not been evacuated to Volos in 1947 and fed there – however miserably – for two and a half years by government relief. And if the population of the village had shrunk to one third of what it actually was in 1956, then it does not seem improbable that much of the present bitterness would have dissolved, because then something like the free traditional way of life would have been possible again. Governmental intervention between 1947 and 1950 prevented the operation of the brutal old-fashioned remedy for overpopulation; but governmental intervention since 1950 has not yet sufficed (and seems unlikely to suffice in the future) to provide a tolerable life for the population that has so successfully been preserved from famine, disease and violent death.

The official records of Cherasia were in considerable confusion in 1956, and I was not able to secure satisfactory figures on the present and past population of the village. The main reason for this state of affairs is that many families are registered as inhabitants of Cherasia, but do not reside there. When the villagers were sent back to their homes, everyone was supposed to go, and officially everyone did. Actually, about twenty-five

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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10. Print Hudson, *1952 Agricultural Report—Greece* (American Embassy, Athens, Dispatch No. 771, January 3, 1953), comments: "The foundation of the cooperative movement is the 8,700 village cooperatives (including fishing and forestry as well as farm coops). The total membership was 684,000 at the beginning of 1952. In each Nomos is found a Union of the Cooperatives of that region. This organization supplies the village cooperative with production credit obtained from the Agricultural Bank. In some districts more than one Union may be found, with the total for Greece being over one hundred. Most of the Unions belong to the Panhellenic Confederation of Unions of Agricultural Cooperatives with headquarters in Athens. Those in control of this Federation so centralize and direct the program of Agricultural cooperatives that it often works to the disadvantage of the movement by eliminating farmer participation. . . ." In addition to the geographical organization of the cooperatives, described above, there are several commodity cooperative associations. These include:

1. *KYDEP.* The Central Organization for the Administration of Indigenous Products. It collects quite a number of products under the Government's price support program. During 1952 it collected only wheat and rye.
2. *SEKE.* The Association of Tobacco Growers' Cooperative Unions, Ltd.
3. *KSOS.* The Union of Sultana Growers' Cooperatives. In 1952 this organization collected nearly 7,000 tons of sultanas (grapes).
4. *ELAIOURGIKE.* The Central Union of Olive Oil Producers.

It often happens that the village cooperatives indicate a certain degree of dissatisfaction with the commodity associations, particularly because of their high costs in handling the products.

Chapter XI. The Village Coffeehouse

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2. *Idem*, "A Mountain Village, Grammos Area" (Athens, March 1952).
3. *Idem*, "A Village in the Serres Plains" (Athens, December 1951).
4. *Idem*, "A Macedonian Village" (Athens, May 1951).
5. Chester Bowles, *Ideas, People and Peace* (New York, 1958), p. 86.
6. John Democritos Photiadis, "The Coffee House and Its Role in Stavroupolis, Greece" (unpublished master's thesis, Cornell University, 1956).
7. Near East Foundation, *et al.*, "A 'Control' Village in Macedonia" (Athens, November 1951).
8. *Idem*, "A Village in the Agrinion Area" (Athens, October 1951).

Chapter XII. Local Government

1. United States Economic Cooperation Administration, Civil Government Division, *Facts on Greek Local Government: A Preliminary Outline* (Athens, December 15, 1950), p. 2 (mimeographed).
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3. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
4. United States Economic Cooperation Administration, *Facts*, p. 7.
5. United States Economic Cooperation Administration, *Revitalizing Greek Local Government: Special Supplement*, Report 67, p. 3 (mimeographed).
6. Frank Smothers, William Hardy McNeill, Elizabeth Darbishire McNeill, *Report on the Greeks: Findings of a Twentieth Century Fund Team Which Surveyed*